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ABSTRACT

The contents of this resource unit, which aims to present the Puerto Rican on the continent as he really is--his background, his attributes, his problems, his goals--so we may better understand and respect him, are organized in five chapters, as follows. Chapter 1, "Background of the Puerto Rican," discusses the geography of Puerto Rico, the history of Puerto Rico over the last four centuries, and the present status of Puerto Rico. Chapter 2, "The Puerto Rico Migration to the Continent," discusses the characteristics of the migrant population and the motivation of the Puerto Rican migration, which is considered to be primarily economic. Chapter 3, "The Puerto Rican Minority on the Continent," discusses "Puerto Rican Immigrant Problems," "The Puerto Rican as a Visible Minority," and, "Generational Differences and Resulting Problems." Chapter 4, "The Puerto Rican Family," discusses "The Extended Family," "Effects of Family Values on Puerto Ricans," "Cultural Values," "Social Involvement," and, "Political Involvement." Chapter 5, "The Puerto Rican Student in Continental Schools," discusses "Needs of the Puerto Rican Student," "Instructional Programs," and "Educational Practices." Also included are a Bibliography, an annotated list of relevant Audio Visual Material, and a list of Sources of Information, resources for future investigation and study. (Author/JM)

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THE PUERTO RICANS:

A RESOURCE UNIT FOR TEACHERS. Prepared by Ana Batllé, Lydia Carcino, Eliezer Rodríguez, Ramona Rodríguez and Eleanor Sandstrom

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Preface

The essentials of good teaching are twofold: knowledge of one's subject and the ability to communicate it; and knowledge of one's students and the ability to reach them. This publication is concerned with both points. It is designed to provide the teacher with information which will enable him to relate to the Puerto Rican student in the classroom, and to impart information to the non-Puerto Rican student about an important minority group which not only holds a unique place in American society but which significantly contributes to our cultural diversity.

For the Puerto Rican student especially, if he is to achieve, if he is to experience success, and if he is to feel a measure of security in the classroom, the teacher must be both knowledgeable and aware of what is special about his background. The teacher then must be familiar with the values and cultural patterns of the Puerto Rican student, his immediate environment and life-style, and the current influences which affect his existence.

This Resource Unit, hopefully, will help to achieve this goal.

This publication is issued
as part of the observance of the
60th Anniversary
of the
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Introduction

Who is the Puerto Rican? What is he? Before we can answer these questions we have to ask, "Which Puerto Rican are you talking about? The one on the island or the one on the continent?" More than an ocean divides them.

The Puerto Rican on the island need not remind himself who he is or where he comes from. He is one among others like himself who share a common history and culture. His history reaches back across several centuries to the first-known Indian civilizations in America. For over 300 years his homeland was one of the most important colonies of the Spanish Empire in the New World. Today, he is a citizen of the Commonwealth of Puerto Rico which, since 1952, has been a free associated state of the United States. He is endowed with a rich heritage of three mother cultures—the Indian, the Spanish, and the African. On the island, among fellow Puerto Ricans, he is a member of the majority. He enjoys the ease and familiarity of his surroundings and community, secure in the knowledge of its customs and traditions.

On the continent, this same Puerto Rican suddenly finds himself one of a minority. Legally he does not come to the United

States as an immigrant—he is a full-fledged American citizen and can pass from the island to the continent as easily as one crosses a state line. But his language, customs, and values are "different" from those of other Americans. Like the immigrant groups that preceded him, he comes looking for new economic opportunities, a better life. He faces similar problems—learning English, adapting to American ways, and gaining acceptance from those outside his group who often view him as "undesirable" and "inferior."

On the continent, the Puerto Rican must adjust not only to a new culture but to a new environment. A move to the continent usually means a move to big cities, where jobs are available. While some recent Puerto Rican migrants have lived in an urban setting on the island, the majority come from rural areas. Life in a large metropolis like New York presents new and difficult problems. Moreover, the Puerto Rican is accustomed to living in a tropical climate and must adjust to the cold temperatures of North America.

In addition, the Puerto Rican on the continent is faced with a difficulty that few previous newcomers were forced to confront: racial ambiguity. The racial prejudice that exists in the United States surprises him. On the island, he has lived with innocence and naiveté regarding racial differences. Now he finds himself face to face with the brutal reality of racism. He realizes that he is socially unacceptable here either as white or black. To add to his confusion, social agencies often classify him as "Other."

The Puerto Rican on the continent, then, often finds himself an outsider. His language and customs are different. He faces a new environment. He is confused about his racial identity and contends with discrimination from whites and, in some cases, blacks.

As in every other society, there are those who are less aggressive and who are defeated by their problems. In this group are the welfare recipients and the school and social drop-

outs. Yet, despite the multiple problems faced by Puerto Rican newcomers to the continent, many have overcome their difficulties, worked hard and with dignity, raised families, and permanently established themselves in new communities. At the same time, we find Puerto Ricans struggling to maintain their traditions, their culture, language and customs, fighting against being absorbed by the existing continental culture.

This resource unit aims to present the Puerto Rican on the continent as he really is—his background, his attributes, his problems, his goals—so we may better understand and respect him.

Chapter I

Background of the Puerto Rican

Geography

Between North and South America and east of Central America there is a vast expansion of water known as the Caribbean Sea. At the entrance of this sea lies Puerto Rico. It is one of the chain of islands which range from Florida to the northern coast of South America and are known as the Antilles. These islands are actually the tops of mountain ranges that rise above the Caribbean Sea. The Antilles are divided into two groups, called the Greater and Lesser Antilles. Puerto Rico is the smallest and easternmost of the four Greater Antilles, islands which also include Cuba, Hispaniola, and Jamaica.

Four centuries ago, when Christopher Columbus discovered the Caribbean islands, he described them as a "paradise on earth." Puerto Rico was considered to be one of the most beautiful islands as well as of great military value. The Spaniards who claimed it, used it as a bastion in defense of the Spanish Empire in the New World. They were entranced with the island's lush, tropical beauty—the abundance of blossoms and birds, fruits

and vegetables, the landscape colored all shades of green, the beautiful coastline and the gentle climate. Today, the face of Puerto Rico has changed. Modern cities, suburbs, factories, highways, and resort areas occupy large areas of the land. Yet the countryside remains idyllic, and Puerto Rico is still called the "island of enchantment."

Though Puerto Rico is small (only 100 miles long and 35 miles wide), it contains an astonishing variety of landscape. Within a few hours time by car, a traveller can journey from flat coastal plains to high mountain regions, from lush, fertile areas in the North, to desert land complete with cacti in the South, and from rural villages to modern cities.

An uninterrupted coastal plain covers 25 percent of the island's territory. Going further inland, one is met by a series of low hills that comprise 35 percent of the island. Finally, three mountain ranges run through the center from East to West, taking up the remaining 40 percent of the land. The main range, La Cordillera Central, is closer to the southern section of Puerto Rico than to the northern.

There is an old saying that "Puerto Rico is the product of wind and rain." Trade winds blow all year round like a giant fan, keeping island temperatures lower than those usually associated with a tropical island. For instance, temperature ranges between 70 and 80 degrees Farenheit on the northern coast all year round. As trade winds blow from the northeast, they bring cool air and moisture to the northern part of Puerto Rico. Because of the abundant rainfall and cooler temperatures, the northern part of Puerto Rico contains the best farmland. In the South, most farming is possible only because of irrigation. Puerto Rican engineers recently tunneled the western end of the mountains in order to bring the abundant waters of the North to the parched lands of the South, particularly to the Lajas Valley of the southwest.

Life for Puerto Ricans in the southern sections of the island

is obviously more difficult because of the relatively higher temperatures and drier climate. In addition, the threat of hurricanes, which enter the Caribbean Sea from the southeast area and are common between July and October, are more real to the people in the South than to those of the North.

On a world map, Puerto Rico is only a small dot. But the island's varied topography gives it a complexity equal to that of a much larger land area. A Puerto Rican geographer divided the island into eleven distinct regions. The north coast plain, from Aguadilla to Luquillo, is a level strip 100 miles long by five miles wide. It holds half the urban population, including the capital city of San Juan. The east coast valley, from Fajardo to Cape Mala Pascua produces sugarcane, coconuts, and mixed fruits. Its beautiful beaches also make it a growing tourist attraction. The Caguas Valley in the island's east central area has sugarcane, tobacco, and cattle. It produces a large part of the island's dairy products. The West coast, stretching from Aguadilla southward to Cabo Rojo, is also agricultural, specializing in fruits, vegetables, and sugarcane. The semi-arid south coast produces one-quarter of Puerto Rico's sugarcane crop and is the site of the island's modern petrochemical complex. The southern hill country is also semi-arid, and people here grow sugar and coffee. In the humid northern hill country coffee, corn, and bean crops are cultivated. Puerto Rico's tobacco-growing center is in the humid eastern mountain area, which also contains large cigar factories. In the rainy western mountain sector, coffee is a key product.

While Puerto Rico's varied topography and climate would seem to indicate excellent conditions for agricultural production, only one-third of the topsoil is considered of good or medium quality. Industry, commerce, the expansion of housing developments, and unwise farming methods have taken a serious toll. Much of the land has been abused by poor crop rotation practices or by the decimating of trees. Much of the rich, deep soil is near the coast, in the path of new housing.

Today, Puerto Rico is undergoing rapid industrialization and urbanization, and most farming takes place on a small scale. Indeed, forty-five percent of the island's imports from the continent are food products, such as rice, grain and meats. In recent decades there has been a dramatic shift in population from rural areas to a few island cities. Where at the turn of the century, only one Puerto Rican in six lived in the city, today more than three in six islanders are urban dwellers, and the ratio continues to climb. Complicating this population shift from farms and small villages to cities is the enormous population growth. Since 1899, the island's population has tripled and, in the last ten years, it has grown from 2.3 million to 2.8 million persons, the equivalent of an additional San Juan. This growth has occurred despite mass migration to continental United States. The island of Puerto Rico is densely populated and contains about 800 persons per square mile.

The territory of Puerto Rico also includes a number of offshore islands, including Vieques, Culebra, and Mona. In contrast to Puerto Rico proper, these islands are small and sparsely populated.

History

Four centuries ago, when Puerto Rico was a tranquil, undisturbed and seemingly enchanted land, the island was inhabited by the Tainos, a peaceful Indian tribe. Archaeological diggings indicate two previous cultures. The first, called the Arcaicos ("Archaics") seem to have been primitive fishermen. They were conquered by the Igneris, who left examples of multi-color ceramics. The Igneris were, in turn, dominated by the Tainos.

The Tainos lived together in small tribes, led by chieftains or *caciques*, and were united by a larger federation. They located their villages near water and lived in small thatched homes called *bohíos*. They enjoyed relaxing in the *hamaca* (hammock) which

they wove from cotton fibers, making music with two types of gourds—the *maraca* and *güiro*, worshipping a supreme being, along with several lesser deities, and playing a ball game, somewhat like soccer and volleyball combined. The women tended the crops of corn and tobacco, while the men hunted and fished.

It was the Taino Indian culture which first introduced Europeans to products like corn, tobacco, and *yucca*. Also, many Taino words—like *canoa, tabaco,* and *maiz*—were later absorbed into both Spanish and English.

The gentle Taino Indians were ill-prepared for the invasion of the Spaniards. They had few weapons and when they first saw the metal swords of the conquistadores they ingenuously stroked the razor-sharp blades and cut the palms of their hands. At first, the Tainos believed that the Spaniards were immortal.

Spanish colonization of Puerto Rico began in 1508, when Ponce de León was appointed governor of San Juan. Shortly afterwards, King Ferdinand ordered that the land and Indians be divided among Spanish colonists. The Spaniards created a feudal system for the Tainos, known as the *encomienda*. From 30-300 Indians were assigned to serve each Spaniard in the island's gold mines or at other tasks. The colonists "taught" the Indians to adjust to Spanish culture and converted them to Christianity. The encomienda was, of course, a thinly disguised form of slavery. Indian attempts to rebel were quickly suppressed. Many Tainos fled Puerto Rico for neighboring islands. Countless others, unable to face the harsh slave labor in the gold mines, died or committed suicide. By the mid-1500s, the Indian population, estimated at nearly 30,000 a century before, had been nearly eradicated.

With few Indians left to provide labor and the island's gold resources rapidly depleting, agriculture was introduced and African slaves imported to till the land. As with the Tainos, the Spaniards converted the Africans to Christianity and attempted, by all means, to stamp out their culture, religious beliefs, and

mores. The treatment of slaves was undoubtedly cruel, yet it never reached the inhuman conditions encountered in English colonies. The island had few settlers, and most lacked the funds with which to acquire great numbers of slaves. Thus, the slave population of Puerto Rico was only 12 percent of that of Cuba. In contrast to the English colonies, as well as other Spanish territories in the West Indies, slave trade in Puerto Rico never reached large proportions. The chronic scarcity of labor on the island forced Spaniards to refrain from overt abuse of the slaves. According to the regulations of 1826, when a slave reached the age of 65, his owner was required to grant him freedom, while continuing to support him for the remainder of his life. The scarcity of white women on the island during the 16th and 17th centuries also helped to reduce brutality against slaves in Puerto Rico. Spanish colonists who fathered children with their female slaves generally freed not only their mulatto offspring but their children's mothers as well.

The first Spaniards in Puerto Rico were adventurers and fortune hunters, seeking a quick fortune in gold. By the 16th century, a new generation of landowners arose who used black slaves to cultivate sugarcane. Income from the sugar economy allowed for a brief period of prosperity. But competition from non-Spanish Caribbean islands took away most of Puerto Rico's markets. To bolster the economy, Spain encouraged the production of tobacco and ginger, along with the breeding of cattle.

As a Spanish colony, Puerto Rican commerce was limited to trade with a single Spanish port. Unable to buy and sell goods elsewhere by legal means, enterprising islanders developed a bustling smuggling industry with neighboring English, French, and Dutch colonies. A small class of landowners controlled most of the wealth of Puerto Rico, while the majority of the population remained poor, subsisting on native fruits and vegetables and planting a few meager crops of coffee and tobacco.

The early colony was an economic disaster. Yet, as long as

Spain was competing with other European countries for space in the New World. Puerto Rico was considered strategically valuable. Between the 16th and 18th centuries, Puerto Rican ports along the coast—(which had become warehouses for the operations of smugglers and pirates)—were attacked by foreign countries who sought control of the island. To ward off these attacks, Spain converted San Juan into a military stronghold. In the long run, foreign powers were unsuccessful in their attempts to wrest Puerto Rico from Spain, and the island remained a Spanish colony until 1898.

Through the 18th century, Puerto Rico was, for the most part, isolated from Europe and South America and largely ignored by Spain. Officials in charge of the local and often repressive government ruled Puerto Rico as if it were their own feudal property. This small minority of powerful Spanish rulers virtually controlled all Puerto Rican military and commercial affairs.

With the 19th century, a new era of change began in the Americas as countries formerly under the rule of European powers sought independence. The struggle for autonomy in Spanish America had its roots in the European ideological revolutions of the 18th century, in the weakening of the Spanish Empire, and in the antagonisms felt against the Spanish authorities by descendants of Spaniards born in America. A more immediate cause of the Spanish American revolutions was Napoleon's conquest of Spain and his appointment of Joseph Bonaparte, his brother, as king of Spain. The Spanish people did not accept Joseph Bonaparte as their king, and a movement against the French invaders started within Spain. French troops drove the Spanish rebels back to Cadiz, where they formed a central junta to act as Spain's government.

To win support of the Spanish colonies, the Cádiz junta promised them equal rights on a provisional basis and representatives were invited to serve in the "Cortes de Cádiz"

(Cadiz Courts). Puerto Rico's political status was changed to that of a province with the same constitutional rights as all others. All Puerto Ricans were granted citizenship and the right to elect one representative to the Cadiz Cortes. Through the efforts of Ramón Power y Giralt, the Puerto Rican representative who later became vice-president of the Cádiz Courts, equality was granted to all Spanish colonies. But this new egalitarianism was short lived. In 1816, a few years after the death of Power y Giralt and the defeat of Napoleon, the newly-crowned Ferdinand VII declared himself the absolute monarch and dissolved the Cádiz Cortes. Repression only furthered the revolutionary goals in Spanish America. Leaders like Simón Bolívar and San Martin gained support and one after another of the Spanish and Central American colonies gained independence from Spain.

In Puerto Rico, however, the sequence of events was different. Geographically and often socially isolated from other countries, under the control of a rigid local regime, Puerto Ricans had developed a fear of political and social change. They were the only people in the New World who remained faithful to the Spanish crown. Indeed, Spain named Puerto Rico "la isla siempre fiel" (the always faithful island), and loyalists from other rebellious countries found refuge there.

Nevertheless, from the beginning of the 19th century, a growing segment of the population felt Puerto Rican, not Spanish. Puerto Rico was quickly becoming a true "melting pot." There were immigrants from Venezuela, Santo Domingo, Louisiana, Haiti, and other American territories; there were settlers from Ireland, Italy, France, Scotland, and other parts of Europe who came to take advantage of the government land grants offered to white Catholic settlers, and there were increasing numbers of freed blacks and mulattoes. As this diverse population became permanently assimilated into Puerto Rico through the intermarriage of people of various backgrounds and cultures, there arose a new generation of native-

born islanders. Many began to regard the island as their own country.

This new sense of "Puertorriqueñismo" was evident in the growing interest and the new developments in art, literature, and music during the 19th century. In addition, some Puerto Ricans began to seek greater political rights and to express their resentment against the Spanish government on the island. Throughout the century there were growing demands for both personal and political freedom. From the beginning, however, political sentiment on the island was divided into three distinct groups: the conservatives, who were avid loyalists to Spain; the liberals, who demanded reform and more local autonomy as part of Puerto Rico's union with Spain; and the separatists, who sought independence.

The fortunes of each of these groups rose and fell in accord with events in Spain. When Spanish rulers on the island feared Puerto Rico might go the way of other rebellious colonies they imposed repressive laws on the island. Later, between 1820 and 1823, Puerto Rico was declared an integral part of Spain and allowed to elect representatives to the Spanish Cortes. But, once again, royal absolutism returned to Spain, and Puerto Rico was subjected to its worst Colonial period. For nearly half a century, the island was ruled by a succession of Spanish military governors who were brutish and ill-equipped as civil administrators. They assumed complete power and abolished all civil rights. Puerto Ricans had no freedom of speech, religion, or political participation. Corporal punishment was frequent. In 1868, Puerto Rican revolutionaries, under the leadership of Dr. Ramón Betances, attempted to seize control of the island. The rebellion, called the *Grito de Lares*, was quickly suppressed.

Soon after this unsuccessful revolt, the Spanish queen, Isabela II, was forced to abdicate and the first republican government arose in Spain. For the third time, Puerto Rico was granted a constitutional government and the right to send rep-

resentatives to the Spanish court. A number of reforms were achieved during this period, among them the abolition of slavery in 1873.

By this time, political parties had emerged in Puerto Rico. While their names changed, their goals remained consistent. Conservatives favored the "status quo," while Liberals were divided between those who supported association with Spain and those who advocated complete independence for the island. In 1887, when a group of Liberals called for independence, Conservatives convinced Spain to appoint a new, repressive governor, Romualdo Palacios. Historical evaluations have presented Palacios as both a despot and a sadist. He suppressed the Autonomist Party and imprisoned and tortured hundreds of Liberals.

Palacios was eventually recalled from office, but the memory of his persecutions left strong anti-Spanish feeling among some islanders who demanded complete independence. Cuban separatists, who had organized a revolutionary party in New York, vowed to help win freedom for Puerto Rico as well as for their own country. The Cuban revolution, which led to the Spanish American War, began in 1895. Luis Muñoz Rivera, the Liberal journalist who headed Puerto Rico's Autonomist Party, hoped to avoid the armed revolutionary path taken by the Cubans. He secured a promise from the head of the Spanish Liberal Party, Mateo Práxedes Sagasta, that, once in power, he would grant the island autonomy. In 1875, when Sagasta rose to power, he granted Puerto Rico an Autonomic Charter. Cuba was offered the same, but revolutionaries there would accept only complete independence and fighting in Cuba continued.

Within a few months time, following the mysterious destruction of the United States' battleship *Maine* outside Havana, the United States declared war on Spain. With its superior naval forces, the United States won an easy victory in Cuba and then attacked San Juan. The war in Puerto Rico lasted only seventeen days. In October, 1898, the island's

government ceded to the North Americans.

When the joint United States and Spanish military delegations met to negotiate peace, confusion reigned among Puerto Rican leaders. Essentially, they had no say in the negotiations. The revolutionary junta in New York had, until now, favored the United States armed forces, believing they had come to liberate the island from Spain. In San Germán, some Puerto Ricans had taken the city, named a new mayor, and destroyed pictures of Spanish authorities. Only a few Puerto Ricans expressed suspicion about the U.S. invasion. Ramón Betances warned, "If Puerto Rico doesn't act fast, it will be an American colony forever."

In December, 1898, Spain ceded Puerto Rico to the United States as part of the Treaty of Paris. After four centuries of Spanish rule, Puerto Rico had a tiny educated, elite class, a small middle class, and a mass of peons. Only 13 percent of the population was literate. Most families still lived in crude huts and subsisted on meager diets. Jobs, when available, paid only a few cents a day. Land distribution was lopsided—2 percent of the island's 40,000 farms contained 70 percent of the cultivated land. Still, the annexation came as a disappointment to those political leaders who had anticipated new freedoms. Dreams of autonomy were shattered when the United States established a military regime on the island.

Although the United States had sought control of the Caribbean area for years, it had given little thought to how such control could be humanely and effectively executed. Henry Carroll, appointed special commissioner to the island in 1898 wrote, "Let Puerto Rico have self government after the pattern of our territories...The existing institutions and laws, usages and customs should not be revolutionized or severely reformed...It will not do...to sever them." But the United States ignored Carroll. Between 1898 and 1900, three North American military men, totally ignorant of the customs, tradi-

tions, and language of Puerto Rico, served as governors. The Foraker Act, in effect from 1900-1916, allowed for some loosening of the military regime. The Foraker Act established a civil government but did not recognize Puerto Rico as a United States territory. In effect, the act created a body politic called "the People of Puerto Rico," who were neither citizens of the U.S. nor of an independent nation. There would be a Governor appointed by the President, an eleven-man Executive Council, a majority of which were North Americans, 35 elected Puerto Ricans in the House of Delegates, whose laws were subject to Congressional veto, and an elected Resident Commissioner in the U.S. Congress, who spoke for the island but had no vote. Hatred of the Foraker Act was virulent in Puerto Rico and Island leaders called President Taft "frankly imperialistic."

Not until the eve of World War I, when President Wilson signed the Jones-Shafforth Act (better known as the Jones Act) was Puerto Rico granted additional civil rights. The Jones Act of 1917 proclaimed United States citizenship for Puerto Ricans and made them subject to the draft. Muñoz Rivera, now Resident Commissioner in Washington, asked for a plebiscite to test public opinion. His pleas were ignored. Puerto Ricans had a single option—they automatically became United States citizens unless they signed a document refusing it, and if they refused citizenship they were denied numerous civil rights.

Island leaders chafed under the rule of the Jones Act and made repeated requests for a plebiscite. Independence sentiment grew as Congress ignored the requests. In 1922, Union Party leader Antonio Barceló tried another approach. He suggested a type of autonomy called *Estado Libre Asociado* (Associated Free State) which would include a "permanent indestructible bond" between Puerto Rico and the United States. A bill, introduced in Congress, died.

Two hurricanes and the Great Depression in the 1930's brought terrible years to Puerto Rico. There was virtual starva-

tion, mass unemployment, and political anarchy. In response to Congressional aloofness, a militant Nationalist Party was formed. Soon it was headed by Pedro Albizu Campos, a graduate of Harvard Law School. Campos, a brilliant revolutionary, advocated complete independence for Puerto Rico. Encounters between Nationalists and the Insular police climaxed in 1938 when, in a Nationalist demonstration in Ponce, 20 people were killed and 100 others wounded. Governor Winship declared the demonstration a "national riot," and Albizu Campos was sentenced to life imprisonment. The U.S. Civil Liberties Union, who later investigated the Ponce affair, called it a "massacre."

As 1940 approached, social conditions in Puerto Rico had not improved much beyond the abysmal level of 1898. The U.S. Health Department had fostered gains in hygienic conditions, which reduced infant mortality. This caused the population to nearly double and put a strain on the depressed economy. Per capita income was a mere $118 a year; farm work—the most common source of employment—paid as low as six cents an hour. The masses survived primarily on starchy vegetables. After four decades of United States control, the majority of Puerto Ricans were still illiterate; while education was compulsory, only half the child population was in school. Life expectancy was only forty-six years.

The year 1940 marked the rise to power of the Popular Democratic Party, headed by Luis Muñoz Marín, who was to lead Puerto Rico into a new era of change and progress. Muñoz Marín, son of Muñoz Rivera, was a noted journalist who had been reared on politics. In 1938, following the dissolution of the Liberal Party in which he had served, Muñoz Marín organized the Popular Democratic Party. Its dramatic slogan was *"Pan, Tierra, y Libertad"* ("Bread, Land, and Liberty") and its emblem was the *pava*, the broad straw hat worn by the *jíbaro*, the rural peasant. In the elections of 1940, the Popular Party platform made a surprising declaration: "The final political

status of Puerto Rico is not an issue." This pledge united talented men of diverse outlooks, who were willing, for a time, to put aside their political preferences and to concentrate instead upon the island's economic development.

Muñoz Marín proved to be a brilliant politician; through his uncanny rapport with the rural masses ("Lend me your vote," he asked, "and take it back in the next elections if I haven't deserved it.") the Popular Party slipped into power. In the years to come, from 1944 to 1964, the Popular Party won all elections by "landslides."

The rise to power of Muñoz Marín coincided with the arrival of United States Governor Rexford Tugwell, who encouraged Muñoz's reformist zeal and matched it with his own. Appointed in 1941, Tugwell was the first North American Governor who exhibited competence and dedication to improving conditions in Puerto Rico. He and Senate leader Muñoz worked together in reorganizing the civil government, with central planning and control of key industries, thus alleviating food shortages and paving the way for the future Operation Bootstrap.

When Tugwell resigned in 1946, President Truman appointed Jesús L. Piñero as the island's first Puerto Rican governor. A year later, Puerto Ricans were given the right to elect their own governor and Muñoz Marín was swept into office. The Popular Party took a stand on political status, proposing an *Estado Libre Asociado*, an autonomous self-government, which would maintain relations with the United States. While the *independentistas* viewed this stand as traitorous, Muñoz felt that Commonwealth status would enable Puerto Rico to draw on United States finances for the island's economic and social development and that it was "a new alternative, equal in dignity, although different in nature from independence or federated statehood."

In October 1950, President Truman signed the Puerto Rico Commonwealth Bill. Puerto Ricans, given the choice between

commonwealth or colonial status, voted for commonwealth in a June, 1951 referendum, and Puerto Rico became a Free Associated State of the United States.

Puerto Rico Today

As an Associated Free State of the United States, Puerto Rico uses the same systems of currency, mail, and national defense as the rest of our country. Puerto Ricans on the island enjoy the benefits of the Social Security Act, Medicare, and public education, yet they do not pay federal income tax. Puerto Rico is a Judicial Federal District and, as such, the people are subject to the draft. There are innumerable Puerto Ricans who have given their life defending the United States.

The government of Puerto Rico, similar to the other states of the union, is composed of executive, judicial, and legislative branches. The highest court to which a Puerto Rican can appeal is the Supreme Court of the United States. The constitution of the island provides that Puerto Rico should not enact a law violating the Federal Constitution. The Puerto Rican is a citizen of the United States, enjoying some but not all of the rights of continental citizens. For example, the Puerto Rican does not vote in national elections for president—he is represented in Congress by a non-voting resident commissioner.

The commonwealth status of Puerto Rico is the result of a compromise between two divergent goals—the desire of many Puerto Ricans to maintain a close affiliation with the United States and their reluctance to relinquish their identity and culture. In a 1967 plebiscite, Puerto Ricans voted to maintain their commonwealth status. Muñoz Marín, who led the campaign for commonwealth, declared that fiscal autonomy in Puerto Rico was possible only because of its status as an Associated Free State. The combination of Puerto Rico's remarkable economic success since 1945, plus the immense weight of Muñoz's per-

sonal prestige, seems to have accounted for the 60 percent vote for commonwealth.

But polarization on the political scene continues. In the 1968 election, Luis A. Ferré, a statehooder who had formed the New Progressive Party, was elected into office. Supporters of Ferré argued that his election proved commonwealth to be a "transitory" vehicle to statehood. Commonwealth advocates accused Ferré of not following the mandate of the people, who had voted for commonwealth in 1967. Those behind independence denounced Ferré's tactics of "assimilation" and called for separation from the United States.

Despite the autonomy which Puerto Ricans have enjoyed for almost two decades, they are still seeking their political identity. Should they remain a Commonwealth, seek statehood, or become independent? Only the Puerto Ricans themselves should decide this question.

Chapter II

The Puerto Rican Migration to the Continent

Who Comes

The migration of Puerto Ricans to the continental United States has been unlike any other migration in the history of our country. Puerto Ricans are in-migrants in their own country, full-fledged citizens who can travel freely to the continent without any immigration requirements, regardless of their socio-economic backgrounds. The fare to the continent is less than one hundred dollars, and the trip lasts only three and one-half hours by commercial jet. The commonwealth status of Puerto Rico and the proximity of the island to the continent place Puerto Rican in-migrants in a unique position. They are unlike European and Asian immigrants whose homelands were geographically distant from the United States and who entered our country as foreigners. Cheap jet travel and lack of passport requirements enable the Puerto Rican to maintain a close affinity with his mother country. The homesick Puerto Rican, dis-

couraged by the cold or unemployment, or suffering from culture shock, can pack his bags and be back home in a few hours. Even the Puerto Rican who decides to stay can visit the island frequently and dream of a permanent return there. Yet, despite the unique status of the Puerto Rican in-migrant, he shares similarities with other immigrant groups. Like those who came before him, he is attracted to the continental United States as a land of hope and promise. He comes to fulfill his ambitions for a better job and a better life.

It was not until 1910 that large numbers of Puerto Ricans moved to the continent. At this time, there were about 1,513 islanders who left Puerto Rico to establish themselves in New York City, and by 1920, their numbers had grown to 11,811. Most of these early in-migrants came from rural areas. Boats bearing names like *Puerto Rico, Coamo, Ponce,* and *San Jacinto* brought adult males to work as laborers on farms near the New York cosmopolitan area. Since Puerto Ricans do not have the same problems regarding immigration as other Latin Americans, they were preferred by North American employers. After the First World War, many Puerto Rican farm workers moved to New York City, where they were joined by their wives and children.

As more Puerto Ricans moved into large urban areas, particularly New York, their problems increased. They found that the long hours of work and the cold climate affected their health. They also found that the discrimination they encountered affected their outlook and feelings about life. There were many things that they hoped for, such as a good school for their children, a decent place to live, and acceptance from their neighbors. They longed for Puerto Rico but could not return because of the abject poverty there. For this reason, they were forced to accept their situation and work harder to earn enough money for a final return to the island.

The 1930 census reported 52,774 Puerto Ricans in the continental United States. Many had already discovered other cities,

towns, and farms, besides New York, in which to reside. During the Second World War, there was very little growth in the Puerto Rican population on the continent. But with the emergence of air travel, a period of heavy migration started. Its peak year was in 1953 when 69,124 Puerto Ricans left the island to come to the continent.

The 1970 census accounts for 1,454,000 Puerto Ricans on the continent. Recent arrivals come from all parts of the island, many from the island towns and big cities. While a little more than 60% of Puerto Rican in-migrants live in New York City and its environs, Puerto Ricans can now be found in all 50 states. The larger Puerto Rican communities are found in Philadelphia, Chicago, Los Angeles, and San Francisco. Other cities with a Puerto Rican population of over 5,000 are Bridgeport and Hartford, Connecticut; Miami, Florida; Honolulu, Hawaii; Camden, Hoboken, Jersey City, Newark, Paterson, and Trenton, New Jersey; Cleveland and Lorrain, Ohio; Milwaukee, Wisconsin; and Washington, D.C. Besides these cities, there are a large number of cities and towns with a Puerto Rican population between 1,000 and 5,000, such as New Haven and Waterbury, Connecticut; Columbus, Georgia; New Orleans, Louisiana; Boston, Massachusetts; Baltimore, Maryland; Detroit, Michigan; Passaic and Perth Amboy, New Jersey; Buffalo and Rochester, New York; Youngstown, Ohio; Bethlehem, Pittsburgh, and Lancaster, Pennsylvania. There are also Puerto Rican communities of less than 1,000 people in a large number of towns and cities, especially in the Northeast areas of the United States.

Besides the Puerto Rican urban population on the continent, there are a large number who live in rural areas. Many are migrant workers who are contracted by the Puerto Rican Labor Department to work on fruit and vegetable farms. Yet, some still come to the United States mainland without legal contracts. Because of their lack of legal support, these workers often suffer greater hardships. But not all the Puerto Ricans who live on

farms are migrant workers. A small but growing number are self-employed, independent farmers.

The present Puerto Rican migration to the continent may be classified into three groups: the permanent resident; the temporary traveler, worker, or student; and the revolving farm worker who moves with the crops on the mainland. Because of the constant flow of Puerto Ricans to the continent, in 1948 the Commonwealth of Puerto Rico established offices in several continental cities to take care of the problems of migrant workers. These offices are serviced by the Migration Division of the Department of Labor of the Commonwealth of Puerto Rico. Each year, approximately 30,000 of the farm workers, who travel back and forth between the island and continent, and other Puerto Ricans receive help from these migration office branches.

Why Do They Come

The Puerto Rican migration is motivated primarily by economic conditions, both on the island and the continent. Most of the people who have migrated are from the lower economic class. The poor rather than the middle class or professional Puerto Ricans leave the island for the continent in search of better economic opportunities. They are the unskilled workers with a very limited education who come from the rural areas, small towns and, more recently, from poorer sections of the cities on the island. Unemployment and overpopulation are factors which spur the poor Puerto Rican to migrate to areas on the continent where jobs are more available. Statistics compiled by the Puerto Rican Migration Office show that when unemployment on the island has risen, migration among Puerto Ricans to the continent increases; conversely, when unemployment on the island decreases or unemployment on the continent increases, there is a rise in migration of Puerto Ricans from the continent back to the island.

Legally, the Puerto Rican who migrates from San Juan to New York is no different from an American citizen who moves from Chicago to Los Angeles. Many Puerto Rican in-migrants, in fact, feel that they are temporary residents on the continent and that eventually they will go back home. Many come because a cousin or friend has written to say that a job is available—in a factory, a restaurant kitchen, or the textile district—which pays twice what one made on the island. Their plan is to work, save as much money as possible, return to *la isla*, and buy a home or perhaps start a business. Most are able to return in a better financial position than the one they were in upon their arrival here. Others return disappointed with nothing to show for all their years of effort and struggle. Still others remain in their new communities and try to adapt themselves to their new environment.

The proximity of the island to the continent creates another motivation for migration beyond the desire to improve economically. Puerto Ricans are infused with a spirit of adventure and need only a reasonable excuse to come to the United States and join the thousands of others who have already migrated. Many new migrants were inspired by the tales of travel of those Puerto Ricans who lived on the continent or who served their country abroad in the Armed Forces.

The Puerto Rican migration has not followed the pattern of other groups who came to settle in the United States. Since Puerto Ricans are citizens of the United States and can travel freely between the island and continent, they do not feel the need to establish permanent residency as other immigrants must do to gain American citizenship. As long as this status continues, we can expect a constant flow of Puerto Ricans to and from the continent.

Chapter III

The Puerto Rican Minority on the Continent

Puerto Rican Immigrant Problems

If it is relatively easy for the Puerto Rican to travel to the continent, the problems which confront him should he decide to stay are difficult and complicated. On the island, the Puerto Rican need not remind himself who he is or where he comes from. He is one among others like himself who share a common language, culture, and history. He comes from a community in which the word "minority" refers only to the numbers of political parties that are not elected. This same Puerto Rican, transplanted to the continent, suddenly finds that *he* is the minority. His language, values, and color mark him as "different" from other Americans. He must constantly remind himself that he is Puerto Rican—and if he does not there are others who will not let him forget it.

He seeks the support of other Puerto Ricans in order to find himself. He looks for a friend, invites an acquaintance, or brings a relative from the island. This is the beginning of the *barrio*, which grows little by little until it becomes a complex community. Problems of environment, economics, and customs have grown; barriers and boundary lines have emerged.

Many of the newly-arrived Puerto Ricans are unemployed, and the little money they bring with them can sustain them only briefly. Usually the male head of a family comes first, to seek his fortune, before he sends for his wife and children. A relative or friend often cares for him until he is able to find a job. The newcomer is welcomed as a member of the family, following the Puerto Rican maxim, "Where one eats, two can eat."

The first job that the newly-arrived Puerto Rican finds is usually obtained with the help of the same people who gave him shelter. Initial employment is generally in the lowest-paying, least-skilled jobs, and newcomers find that they have little to spend on housing, food, health care, and other necessities. Once he has a means of income, however, the Puerto Rican newcomer looks for a place of his own to live. The problems that he faces at this point are almost overwhelming. He cannot get into public housing because of the residency requirements that exist in most cities. Even where these do not exist, the waiting list is probably too long for him to be immediately served. In some instances, when he submits an application for public housing, he is bypassed in favor of other applicants. His last recourse is to inhabit slum dwellings—rat-infested buildings often lacking heat and hot water—which other minorities have vacated. With his limited understanding of English and poor concept of community life in the slums, the Puerto Rican is subject to constant exploitation by unscrupulous landlords and merchants.

On the continent, the typical Puerto Rican changes jobs and housing frequently. Layoffs and overpriced apartments in crumbling tenements engender bitterness. Like others who have come before him, he finds that the great American dream is illusive.

The Puerto Rican newcomer is willing to work at almost any job from which he can earn a living. Yet, he often finds himself struggling at the bottom of the economic pyramid, unable to make ends meet. He is recruited for unskilled, low-paying jobs—service jobs in hospitals, restaurants, hotels, and in the

garment industry—which few other Americans apply for. As a newcomer, he is usually the last hired and the first fired. Along with the hardships of initial employment, once in a job the Puerto Rican has little economic security or room for advancement. Automation has eaten into the job market and if he remains an unskilled worker in a highly technological society, the Puerto Rican may find that he is replaced by a machine.

One out of every two Puerto Ricans in the continental United States has an income below the poverty line as established by national norms. A recent study estimates that the median income for Puerto Ricans living in New York City was $3949, almost $3000 below the city average for other minorities. Puerto Ricans have gained only $49 in the last two years, while other minority groups have gained almost $1,000. In East Harlem, 36.9% of Puerto Ricans are either unemployed or sub-employed. Very few hold white-collar jobs.

The effects on a community when so many of its people are without work or earning very little are devastating. Many Puerto Ricans find themselves living in buildings that were declared uninhabitable half a century ago. Inextricably linked with slum housing are the innumerable social and environmental problems of slum neighborhoods.

The Puerto Rican on the continent often becomes a victim of the problems of American urban society. While some would blame him for the ills he suffers, the Puerto Rican did not create the slums, poor schools, poor health and recreation facilities, or poor sanitation he is often subject to. These are the chronic problems of our cities which have plagued other newcomers to the United States and which we have yet to solve. The Puerto Rican migrant inherits these problems. He comes to escape poverty on the island and finds himself a victim of the problems of poverty here. These problems become compounded by the difficulties of language, climate, and cultural adjustment, as well as racial discrimination.

The barrier of language is a great hurdle for the Puerto Rican to overcome. He is proud of his rich Spanish language, yet he finds himself looked upon with suspicion when he speaks it. Since he is already an American citizen, he does not feel as compelled to learn English as do other non-English-speaking immigrants. At the same time, he knows that a knowledge of English is essential for economic and educational opportunity. Job promotions in many fields are based on testing procedures which measure a Puerto Rican's ability to understand English rather than his knowledge of the job. Some supervisors block his promotion because he has a Spanish accent. Without an understanding of English, the Puerto Rican is not sufficiently oriented to file complaints about discriminatory practices in employment, housing, or education. Often he does not exercise his right to vote, because he does not clearly comprehend the candidates or issues and shies away from using a voting machine. The Puerto Rican who is unable to communicate with English speaking Americans feels isolated in an alien environment. He recognizes that his children must learn English to gain social acceptance and educational opportunities, yet he hopes that they will also retain their Spanish language.

Puerto Rican As Visible Minority

Besides the heritage of language, the Puerto Rican has inherited from the Spaniards a rich cultural identity. His personality, his customs, his religion, his values, his music, dances, and art originated in Spain. On the continent, he experiences a conflict between his desire to maintain his native cultural identity and his need to adapt to new ways. As we have noted in regard to language, the fact that the Puerto Rican is a United States citizen and can return easily to the island makes him less prone to adapting to American values than other immigrant groups. The individualistic quality of his Spanish character does not

lend itself easily to change. Even with the knowledge that he must adopt the new culture to survive, he resists total acculturation. Many Puerto Ricans absorb from the continental culture only those things that suit them in terms of interest—for example, baseball, American movies, and popular music. Still, certain adaptations are unavoidable and many prove difficult. Puerto Ricans who seek to retain the language and traditions of the island as they acquire the new customs and language of the continent often experience a conflict of values and feel that their identities are fragmented.

Family structure on the island differs markedly from that on the continent. In the traditional Puerto Rican family, there is still deeply rooted the concept of the father as the "head of the house." The father dictates the activities of his wife and children, and his decisions are usually final. In the past, Puerto Rican women were forbidden to work outside the home, regardless of the economic hardships of the family, or to have social friendships with men outside the family. While these traditions are undergoing change and women on the island are gaining new equality and economic and educational opportunities, the Spanish custom which upholds a woman's "honor" is still very prevalent in Puerto Rican culture. Girls are closely watched and sheltered and, in many families, they are escorted by an adult when going shopping, to the movies, church, or any recreational activity. On the continent, the Puerto Rican wife may assert new independence and children gain more social freedom. Family conflicts may arise when a wife now sharing the economic support of the family claims a voice in family decisions, or when a daughter wishes to attend a school dance without a chaperone. Puerto Rican children are usually taught to have an intense respect for their elders. When an adult is correcting a child, it is improper for that child to look the adult straight in the eye. The child must bow his head in respect and listen while being ad-

dressed. Puerto Rican parents often feel that the social freedoms of the continent are dangerous for their children. They are torn between the desire to maintain traditional forms of behavior and the need to adapt to new ones.

The problems of adjustment to the new environment produce other unusual situations for the Puerto Ricans. The cold temperatures and seasonal changes of North America often affect their health. Patterns of eating are different. On the island, Puerto Ricans are accustomed to eating a hot meal at noon; now they must settle for a sandwich. Some Puerto Ricans prefer no lunch at all to this choice. Others may bring their favorite Puerto Rican dishes to lunch, but curious co-workers, who stare and ask questions, soon discourage them.

A very large problem for Puerto Ricans on the continent is the confusion of their names. Mainlanders suffer from a complete lack of knowledge of the genealogical system of family names as practiced in all Spanish-speaking countries. When a woman marries, she retains her maiden name and adds the surname of her husband. The children carry the surname of both parents with that of the father coming first. For example:

> Lola Rivera López marries Juan Pérez Martínez. Her name becomes
>
> Lola Rivera de Perez. She drops her mother's surname, Lopez, and does not use her husband's mother's surname, Martínez.
>
> If she has a son named Luis, his full name will be Luis Pérez Rivera.

Since this naming pattern is not known on the continent, schools, and other agencies take the last name of the person and treat this as the official surname. This has created a nightmare for Puerto Ricans who are accused of double identity, legal fraud, illegitimacy, and false representation.

Generational Differences and Resulting Problems

Some Puerto Ricans adjust more readily than others to their new environment. Some continue to feel disoriented and confused by the new culture and cling to old values and traditions. Others, especially in the second generation, completely reject Puerto Rican customs and refuse to use Spanish as a means of communication. The majority, however, attempt to use the best of both cultures in order to maintain ties with their homeland while adapting to life on the continent.

This process is approached differently by various segments of the Puerto Rican population. The age at which a Puerto Rican migrates to the continent and whether he is in fact a migrant from the island or a Puerto Rican born on the continent are factors which will determine his social and cultural identity. First-generation Puerto Ricans who were born, raised, and educated on the island have an awareness of what it means to be Puerto Rican in a society where everyone is part of the whole. Although they must make adjustments to their new environment on the continent, their value system, thought patterns, and emotional reactions are likely to be primarily rooted in Puerto Rico, or at least more so than other segments of the Puerto Rican mainland population. There are, for example, Puerto Ricans who, while born and partially raised on the island, migrated to the continent at an early age and received some of their education here. These Puerto Ricans tend to acquire and assimilate more of the values and life patterns of the continent than do the first generation. At the same time, the years they spent in Puerto Rico provide them with a greater knowledge of the island and greater self-awareness of themselves as Puerto Ricans than the second generation.

The second-generation Puerto Ricans—those born on the continent of Puerto Rican parents—often feel confused about

their identity. Many have never been to Puerto Rico and do not speak Spanish. Some speak neither Spanish nor English fluently and try to communicate by using a mixture of the two. The Puerto Rican born on the continent does not have the strength and pride of his parents of knowing what it is to be a part of the whole on the island. He is not familiar with the values and life patterns in Puerto Rico. He grows up knowing that he is Puerto Rican—for that is what other Americans view him as—but to be Puerto Rican on the continent without a sense of Puerto Rico is often to be a "minority," or something "less than."

The second-generation Puerto Rican is often a product of slums and poor schools in urban ghettos. Moreover, he may be more victimized by the racial discrimination that exists on the continent than are his parents. Racial discrimination has never been a social or political issue in Puerto Rico. It is the only major area in the Caribbean where a slave revolt or a race riot has never occurred. The Puerto Rican migrant to the continent is faced immediately with the racial frictions that exist in many neighborhoods, and he often contends with racial discrimination in employment and housing. But the migrant who has lived a considerable portion of his life on the island has an integral concept of integration as a taken-for-granted way of life. He is apt to consider himself Puerto Rican and to disregard distinctions between black and white. In contrast, the second-generation Puerto Rican who has not experienced the racial harmony that exists on the island may be more deeply affected by the racial frictions in our country. From birth he may be labelled as "different" and "non-white." In schools and in the slums he may be pushed into taking sides on the racial issue. Nevertheless, within his own family and the Puerto Rican community, the concept of integration is not a theory but a present reality, and this provides him with a sense of uniqueness and the determination to combat racism. In racial matters, Puerto Ricans lead the way in demonstrating that it is possible to live in racially-mixed

groups without racial overtones.

As in every society, there are members who are less aggressive and who are defeated by the problems that confront them. From this group come the welfare recipients and the school and social dropouts. Despite the racial discrimination with its resultant problems of abuse in housing, unemployment and subemployment, and the obstacle of language which impedes full involvement in the social and political processes of the community, a large majority of Puerto Ricans overcome their difficulties, open a path in the midst of their circumstances, work hard and with dignity, and permanently establish themselves on the continent.

Chapter IV

The Puerto Rican Family

The Extended Family

The sense of the Puerto Rican family permeates the culture of the island and extends beyond its shores. The cohesiveness of the family unit is the backbone of Puerto Rico. The family includes not only parents and children, but grandparents, uncles, aunts, cousins of all degrees, and even those persons not related by blood lines but who become members of the family through bonds of close friendship. This practice of weaving all relatives and friends into the fabric of the family is often referred to as the extended family.

Another family link evolves through the religious custom of becoming "compadres." This occurs when the parents of a newborn child invite another married couple to serve as godfather and godmother at the baptismal ceremony of the infant. From that moment on, the new godparents become part of the extended family. Their first act is to prepare a very large and festive recep-

tion in honor of the occasion to which the family and neighbors are invited. Throughout the years the "compadres" are an integral part of the life of their godchild and his family.

As members of the family leave the island, the close relationship is not broken. The new home on the mainland becomes a haven for all the relatives and friends who want to follow. Very often parents send their adolescent children to the mainland in an effort to provide better economic opportunities for them. They know that their children will be welcomed and cared for by their friends and relatives in the extended family.

The home is the focal point for almost all of the activities of the family. Until very recently babies were born in the home with the aid of a mid-wife and funeral wakes took place in the home. In many rural areas these practices still persist. All social and religious functions such as baptism, weddings, birthdays, Christmas, Holy Days of the Cross, The Week of the Three Wise Men or Reyes Magos are celebrated in the home.

It is the custom in the Puerto Rican home for the entire family to have all of their meals together with the father presiding at the table. If the father is working far from home and cannot return home for lunch, the mother or the oldest child brings him his lunch. Since the usual Puerto Rican lunch is not a sandwich, a hot dog, or a hamburger, but a warm cooked meal, this is carried in a *"friambrera."* A *"friambrera"* is an apparatus consisting of a metal frame with a handle for carrying which contains a stack of three to five metal pots with a lid. The food is kept warm and if needed, the pots can be heated.

The Puerto Ricans are known for their cordiality and their hospitality and many of their proverbs and sayings are expressions of their invitation to share in their family and in their home. Some of these expressions are: *"Esta es su casa,"* in translation, "This is your home;" *"Donde comen dos, comen tres,"* in translation, "Where two eat, three can eat" or "There is always room for one more;" *"a la orden"*, in translation, "I am at your service"

The structure of the family is patriarchal. The father is the head of the house and is the authoritarian figure. He makes the major decisions regarding the economics of the family, the behavior and education of the children, and the duties of each member of the family. He even decides on the time each member of the family should be at home. The mother is responsible for the rearing of the children and for the management of the house. She is also primarily responsible for the religious education of the children.

The authority of the parents is not questioned by the children. A respect for one's elders is implanted almost from birth. The child soon learns to lower his head and listen respectfully to advice or reprimand from his elders. This respect for parents and older people develops almost into reverence of the elderly, who are cherished and cared for and always treated with dignity because of their experience with living. The custom of sending elderly parents and grandparents to nursing or convalescent homes is unheard of in the Puerto Rican family.

All the responsibilites of the home are shared by all of its members. The older children help to take care of the younger ones and also assist with the care of the elderly members of the family. They help their mother by sharing the household tasks and also assist their father with his work. The parents provide economic support of the children as long as they live in the house. The oldest son usually has the responsibility of taking the role of the father if the father dies or is away from home. The oldest girl usually takes the role of the mother when the mother is not present. These responsibilities are taken so seriously that very often, in case of the death of a parent, the son or daughter assumes the parent role and drops his or her educational or career opportunity in order to keep the family together.

The protection of the honor of the family is the responsibility of its male members. They jealously guard the chastity of their women and the family name. The female members of the

family almost never travel alone and are usually accompanied by an adult or an older brother or sister. When a young man is interested in inviting a girl to accompany him to a social event, he must ask the permission of the girl's parents and he is never permitted to be alone with her. When the young people attend dances or important social events they are always chaperoned. In order to marry, the approval of the parents of both parties is needed.

Effects of Family Values on Puerto Ricans

This closely knit family unit provides economic and emotional security not only on the island but wherever Puerto Ricans may find themselves. From where does the concept of the extended family emanate? Some of it certainly is inherited from the Spanish family tradition. Some most certainly comes from the need created by a form of government that was not paternalistic and that did not concern itself with social problems. Simply, people had to take care of the unemployed, the sick, and the elderly within their own family circle. The lack of facilities for communication and transportation also added to the banding together of people in a home and in a community.

The growth of industry and technological advances have brought gradual changes to the island. Perhaps the most important influence for change has been the airplane. The development of transportation facilities in Puerto Rico has gone from the horse to the car to the plane. The plane provides easy access to the mainland both in time and in cost. Since the Puerto Ricans have become citizens of the United States there are no travel restrictions in terms of visas, tourist cards, or passports. They may travel anywhere in the United States or its possessions.

The development of electrical facilities has made the use of

electricity commonplace on the island and has brought not only light, but radio and television to almost every home. Hydro-electric plants have supplied water to the outermost regions of the island. Puerto Ricans love the American movies which are shown with Spanish sub-titles and the films have had tremendous impact on the dress and customs of the people.

As the industrialization of the island increased, job opportunities were greater in the cities. Some members of the family went to the cities seeking employment, some went to the mainland, and some remained on the farms. Women began to work in factories and in stores. As the women became wage-earners they began to feel more independent and this sometimes created conflict in their lives at home. However, despite her new-found independence in the world of work, the social restrictions of the Puerto Rican woman were retained. While many women have attained high professional office in fields such as government, medicine, education, and law, the social role of women up to the present has not changed radically. Despite the inroads of modern living, most Puerto Rican families have retained their traditional structure and unity.

The Puerto Ricans that come to the mainland come for the most part to seek job opportunities, for although the fairly rapid industrialization of Puerto Rico has provided thousands of new jobs, it has been unable to keep up with the exploding population of the island. The majority of those that have come to the mainland since the 19'0's originate from the inner part of the island where the effects of industrialization have not been greatly felt. These people, to a large extent, seek jobs on the farms during harvest time. Some return to Puerto Rico after the harvest, others follow the harvest season to other areas of the states, and some stay on to visit a friend or relative in the city and are usually invited to stay until they find other employment.

As soon as the newcomer is able to maintain himself, he establishes a home of his own, often in close proximity to that of

his friend or relative. Repeating the pattern of those who came before him, he now opens his home to newcomers. This is the beginning of the *"barrio:"* a community where people of the same linguistic and cultural heritage come together for mutual sustenance in a strange and new environment.

Not all of the Puerto Ricans who have come to the mainland come from the rural areas of the island, nor are they all unskilled. Many have come to attend schools and universities and have stayed on. Others have come because their training and competencies can command higher wages on the mainland. Many religious leaders have come in answer to the call from their parishioners. Today, with the new emphasis on bilingual education and ethnic area studies, many educators are being invited to come to the mainland.

For the Puerto Rican who comes to the mainland with a knowledge of English and with a profession or job skills, life is no more difficult than the usual adjustment to a new environment. He usually comes with his family, obtains housing in a middle income neighborhood, finds employment readily, and after a short time, he and his family become part of the community. On the other hand, for the Puerto Rican who arrives knowing no English and having no job skills, the problem of survival is acute. He usually comes alone, seeking a new life for himself and his family. While he is living with a relative or friend he struggles to find a job in order to provide a home for the family waiting to join him. He finds himself competing for the lowest-paying jobs because of his inability to communicate in English and his lack of job training. Also, he finds himself competing for the poorest housing in the lowest income areas of the city. He is beset by problems never encountered on the island, such as racial discrimination, language barriers, intolerable food, severe cold, inadequate clothing. Buffeted by a society inclined to be suspicious of people who don't speak English or who speak with a foreign accent, he clings to the knowledge that he is an Amer-

ican citizen and that, somehow, things will come out all right. As soon as possible he sends for his family, since he knows that this security will also help him.

Cultural Values

Once the family is reunited, they face problems as a family group and as individuals. As a family they tend to maintain their traditional structure. The father continues in the role of the wage-earner and the mother remains in the home taking care of the children if they are very young. As the children grow and begin to attend school, the mother usually begins to work to help the family income. Since most Puerto Rican men like to have their wives at home at the time they return from work, many women who work try to arrange their working hours so that they are able to return home before their husbands.

Traditionally, however, the man of the house is not accustomed to having his wife work and as soon as the family finances improve, he expects his wife to stay home. The woman who continues to work often finds that her marital relationship is beginning to weaken and this may lead to the dissolution of the family. Other factors also contribute to the disintegration of the family on the mainland. For example, as members of the family become attracted to the new diversity of forms of recreation which were not available to them in Puerto Rico, the responsibility for the management of the family income becomes a problem. New social freedoms are sometimes abused and thereby create martial discord.

The children, influenced by their school chums and neighbors, begin to imitate their adolescent manifestations of independence. Since Puerto Rican parents expect unquestioning obedience from their children, family quarrels begin to threaten the unity of the family. For the many children whose parents expect them to maintain the cultural patterns which they them-

selves adhered to, the conflict between accepting or rejecting the new and old values of social behavior is traumatic. For example, Puerto Rican parents do not permit their children to smoke in their presence and they don't permit adolescents to smoke at all. The girls are not allowed to go out on dates or to attend dances without proper chaperones. The boys are expected to be home from a social event before midnight. For a school prom, the family of the girl often arranges with the family of the boy for the two young people to attend. If the families do not make the arrangement, the girl must introduce her escort to her family in advance for their approval.

Another area of conflict arises from the dependence of the parents on their children because of the language barrier. As the children learn English, they serve as interpreters for their parents in many social agencies such as hospitals, welfare offices, courts, and the schools. The children become involved in adult human problems outside of the realm of childhood experience. As the child realizes his new role in family affairs, the father and mother begin to lose their authority and control. Also, because of the language barrier, the parents do not always know what the children are doing in school or in other places outside of the home.

Over the years the church has played a very important role in the personal life of the Puerto Ricans. A great part of the cultural heritage of the people has been transmitted through the church. Within most Puerto Ricans there lies a deep religious feeling and a reverence for God and God's will. This relationship with the Heavenly Father is expressed in their attitude towards daily occurrences and in their everyday conversations. You will commonly hear phrases like, "*Vaya con Dios,*" translated "May God go with you," said when they take leave of each other; "*Sea lo que Dios quiera,*" translated "May it be what God wants," said when some misfortune occurs; "*Es la voluntad de Dios,*" translated "It is the will of God," said to face an unfore-

event; *"Bendito sea Dios,"* translated "May God be blessed," said when something unusual happens; *"Ay Virgen Santísma,"* translated "Holy Virgin Mary," said at any emotional outburst; *"Ay Bendito,"* translated "Oh, my God!," and said at any feeling of sorrow.

When the Puerto Ricans started to arrive on the mainland there were no churches that had services in the Spanish language. Therefore, many did not attend church. Gradually, Masses in the Catholic churches began to be conducted in Spanish. Priests from Spain came to serve in the Catholic churches. As the Spanish-speaking population grew, priests and ministers from Puerto Rico and from other parts of the Spanish-speaking world came to minister to the spiritual needs of the people. Some services were conducted in store fronts, others in the homes of the faithful. The hope of each group was to build its own church. The church helped to retain many of the religious and other cultural traditions of the island and reinforced the close bonds of the family.

The second generation of Puerto Ricans on the mainland have divided allegiances to the church. Some attend English-speaking congregations, some continue in the Spanish congreations, and some have rejected organized religion. At present, there is a rebirth of feeling for maintaining a distinct Puerto Rican culture. This has included an embrace of the Spanish-speaking church, and many people are returning to the fold.

Social Involvement

The Puerto Ricans are a very friendly and generous people. They enjoy being together, they love music, they love to dance, and they are accustomed to being in groups chatting, playing dominoes, and passing the time of day. They greet passersby

even when they are strangers in order to show that they are welcome. In Puerto Rico the favorite meeting place is the town plaza or square where there are trees, flowers, benches and music for the people's pleasure. In the small towns, in addition to the plaza, the neighborhood pharmacy serves as a meeting place for adults and youth.

One of the very painful experiences for Puerto Ricans on the mainland is the complete lack of understanding of their desire to be in groups. Because there is no town square where they can meet, they form their groups on the corner of a street or near a store. As a volatile people, they speak Spanish rapidly and loudly, using their hands to gesticulate. These actions are misunderstood by the English-speaking community who often call the police to come to disperse the group. How many Puerto Ricans have been imprisoned because they were standing on a street corner chatting with their friends!

The cold reaction on the mainland to their warm feeling of gregariousness creates much sadness for the Puerto Ricans. The cold aspect of streets and homes without plants and flowers makes them long for their tropical island. They also find it difficult to adjust to the cold climate. In order to bring some of the warmth of their homeland into their new living quarters, they decorate their homes with colorful flowers and plants, whether they be live, paper, or plastic. The Puerto Rican people love their homes and invest their earnings in furnishings and decorations. Most of them dream of owning their own home with a garden and flowers.

Regardless of the economic level of the family, the parents encourage their children to learn to play a musical instrument, usually a guitar, to take dancing lessons, to learn to recite poetry, and to paint for pleasure. No party occurs where music and song are not heard nor poetry recited. One of the very enjoyable and delightful customs is that of improvising poetry when in a social gathering. Someone starts a rhyme and each member of the group is challenged to continue with another rhyme. This is a heritage

from Spain which has prevailed throughout the Spanish-speaking world.

Political Involvement

On the island, the Puerto Ricans are very involved in politics and almost all of them vote. However, on the mainland, they do not participate actively in political affairs. This is due to several factors—the language barrier, the complexity of the voting machine (on the island they vote by ballot), and the deep-rooted feeling that they will soon be going back to the island.

In recent years the political picture has changed somewhat. The second generation of Puerto Ricans, born or raised on the mainland, is becoming actively involved in politics and in social reform. Many now hold elected offices and are making an important contribution to our society.

The process of evolution on the mainland has changed the dominant language and some of the cultural patterns of the Puerto Rican family. But there is a new awakening of interest on the part of Puerto Rican youth on the mainland in their ancestry. Many want to learn more Spanish and more about their history and culture. They are going back to Puerto Rico in growing numbers to visit their relatives and to see from where their parents came. There is an emerging sense of pride in their Puerto Rican identity and a deep interest in preserving their culture.

The flow of Puerto Ricans to and from the island will certainly never cease as long as there are friends and family to visit. This continuing contact between the two cultures will provide a constant and mutual interchange of language and mores that should enrich the lives of all people on the island as well as on the mainland.

Chapter V

The Puerto Rican Student in Continental Schools

Educational Needs of the Puerto Rican Student

It has been mentioned that the Puerto Rican in-migration to the United States can be classified into three groups: the temporary in-migrant, who comes to work on the crops and returns to Puerto Rico, the one who follows the crops around the states, and the one who establishes himself rather permanently in the cities throughout the continent. This last group sends for his family and naturally expects his children to continue their education in the local schools. The following is directed toward the latter group.

The educational needs of the Puerto Rican student on the continent require that he be accepted as he is by the group with which he comes in contact. This simple statement has complex ramifications which educators, sociologists and psychologists have been investigating in order to discover the ways in which Puerto Rican children can best progress in schools on the continent.

The basic and greatest problem of the Puerto Rican child is the language barrier. Although English is taught in the public schools of Puerto Rico from kindergarten through grade 12,

most students do not have a speaking command of the language. On entering a school where English is the medium of all instruction, the student is lost and bewildered. The fact that his parents often do not speak English adds to his difficulties.

The inability to communicate his most basic needs has caused the Puerto Rican child to experience the most excruciating physical and emotional discomfort in classes. He may have an "accident" in the classroom because he cannot convey his need to leave for the lavatory. He does not understand directions given by the English-speaking teacher and is soon considered a dolt or a discipline problem. He is cautioned by his teacher to go home and to be sure to practice his English by not speaking in Spanish to his parents. The immediate conflict of the value of his home language and culture begins to fester within him. How many Puerto Rican children have been harangued by an unknowing teacher who demands that the child look him squarely in the eyes when being spoken to, evidently unaware that the Puerto Rican child has been taught to lower his head when being reprimanded by an adult as a gesture of respect!

Psychological and achievement tests are administered to him in English, and instead of reflecting his true capabilities, the low achievement scores classify him as retarded or a slow learner. Thousands of Puerto Rican children are placed in classes for the retarded educables because no one has tried to test them in their mother tongue.

Fortunately, some school systems are beginning to see the light and are employing bilingual teachers, counselors, teacher assistants, counseling assistants, psychologists, and administrators who are attempting to teach, counsel and test the Spanish-speaking child in Spanish.

The Bilingual Education Act, passed by Congress in 1967, is a milestone in the history of the United States. For the first time, legislation not only permits, but fosters instruction in the basic skills in a language other than English. Pilot projects across the

nation are developing bilingual instructional programs in Chinese, French, Portuguese, Navajo and Spanish. English is always the language paired with any of the aforementioned. The Act also fosters the teaching of the history and culture of the particular ethnic group in order to maintain the self-identity or ethnicity of the individual child. The concept of the "melting pot" where each culture of the immigrant was tossed into the cauldron to create the "great American dream" is changing to a concept of a forging together of a giant mosaic of each of the cultures that make up America, each ethnic culture delineated and brilliantly etched into the American monumental design.

As all other groups, most Puerto Ricans will retain their identity as Puerto Ricans regardless of where they may live. Different from other ethnic groups who have migrated to the continental United States, Puerto Ricans are born United States citizens. They are, therefore, part of the account of American history. It is important that history courses and textbooks contain the narration of the struggle of the Puerto Ricans to survive as a people. The student of history, whether he be a Puerto Rican or not, should know of the great heroes, the national leaders, the men of letters, and the important events which have made Puerto Rico today one of the countries with the highest standard of living in the Western Hemisphere.

As a result of the need for the teaching of Puerto Rican history and culture, national, state, and local organizations have been formed to strengthen the cultural ideal of the Puerto Ricans. Courses of Puerto Rican history and culture are being added to the curriculum by some school systems throughout the nation. These courses have benefit not only for the Puerto Rican students but other ethnic groups as well.

As a newcomer to the mainland the Puerto Rican student needs to know his immediate environment. The school has the responsibility to orient the student and his family to their rights and responsibilities within the community. The student not

only needs to know about his own cultural heritage, but also must be aware of and appreciate other cultural groups that live in his neighborhood. Unwanted rivalries are the result of the little knowledge that exists between one cultural group and another living next door to each other.

Racial discrimination in school and in the community is a new experience for the Puerto Rican child, and his exposure to this experience develops within him a psychological conflict in relation to his peer groups.

The economic condition of the many Puerto Rican families on the mainland creates many grave hardships. Since half of the Puerto Ricans living in the United States are under the poverty level established by the Federal Government, they are forced to live in slums where the most deplorable housing conditions exist. The lack of sufficient income also affects the family subsistence. Many children come to school in need of a balanced diet and clothing. Research has proven that hunger and poverty impair the learning process.

Instructional Programs

Where there are no instructional programs geared toward the special needs of the Puerto Rican child, he is placed in a class, usually lower than the one he was in in Puerto Rico, where he is unable to communicate. While the teacher may have good intentions, she is unable to cope with the language barrier and has no instructional materials in Spanish. The Puerto Rican child comes to school with an attitude of deep respect for the teacher. He is usually quiet and shy and withdraws more and more into himself as he becomes increasingly insecure in the learning situation. Teachers usually consider the Puerto Rican child a "good" child because he is quiet and passive. However, when some children show their frustration by rebelling, the teacher labels these children as undisciplined.

One of the most serious and deplorable experiences that Puerto Rican students have encountered is in the area of school counseling. Principals and counselors have been reluctant to consider the Puerto Rican child as college material and these students have been placed in vocational training schools or in commercial or general courses. Again, because of the language barrier, students cannot communicate with their monolingual counselors. In the past few years some schools have been hiring Spanish-speaking counselors and since this expertise is in short supply they are also employing Spanish-speaking counselor assistants. In some cities, vocational courses are being conducted in Spanish in order to equip the Spanish-speaking child with a saleable skill as he enters the world of work.

Research has shown that students tend to develop more rapidly cognitively when learning proceeds in their mother tongue. Unfortunately, public school districts across the nation have never taught the basic skill subjects in any language other than English. Even if any had the desire to do so, they would have been impeded by state school codes. The enactment of the Bilingual Education Act has encouraged several states to amend the school code, thereby permitting instruction in the basic skills in any language.

In the past three years, pilot projects in bilingual education have been initiated with the assistance of Federal funds. These projects are experimental in nature and are designed to develop learning in the child's mother tongue and in English. Most projects have been designed for the primary grades. A few projects are in operation in the intermediate and upper grades.

Cities with a large Puerto Rican population have received Federal funds, especially Title VII ESEA Funds, for the organization of instructional programs in English and Spanish. In addition to the communication skills, arithmetic, science and social studies being taught in the two languages, courses in Puerto Rican history and culture are being taught. School

systems are recruiting and training teachers and other school personnel of Puerto Rican and other Hispanic origins.

Newly developed course outlines and units of instruction are being carefully structured in the areas of science, social studies, mathematics, Puerto Rican history and culture, Latin-American history, Spanish as a first language, and English as a second language. The new curriculum is providing a new and meaningful educational experience for Spanish-speaking pupils. Teachers and principals are impressed with the vibrancy of pupil performance where before there was passivity. Spanish-speaking pupils are achieving and they are proud of being Puerto Rican!

A major responsibility of administrators, teachers, and other school personnel is an awareness of current developments in theories of second language learning and research findings in bilingualism, biculturalism, and English as a second language. Differentiation is now being made between learning a second language and learning a foreign language. The latter is recognized as learning for cultural enhancement and the former as learning for survival.

Educational Practices

Currently there are two major educational thrusts to meet the needs of Spanish-speaking pupils in the schools—bilingual education and English as a second language. The major objectives of bilingual instructional programs are to educate all the children within a school in two languages in all areas of the curriculum, and to develop an awareness and understanding of the cultural heritage of the ethnic groups within the school. The major objectives of the English as a Second Language Programs are to develop competency in understanding and speaking English, to orient the student to the mores of his new environment, and to provide emotional security for the student through

his contact with bilingual teachers and other school personnel who speak his language. Depending upon the age of the student and the time spent in an ESL (English as a Second Language) class, the development of skills of reading and writing English may be added to the objectives.

Until recently, many educators felt that the best way to learn English would be for children to remain in monolingual classes and absorb the new language from their peers. In schools where there were large numbers of non-English-speaking students, special classes were often formed and staffed with monolingual teachers with little or no training in the methods of teaching English as a second language. The prime educational goals were to teach English, to stamp out the mother tongue and culture, and to inculcate the dominant mores of the American society. Today it has been clearly established that children do not absorb communication skills in English by sitting in an English-speaking environment. Second language skills acquisition requires constant and intensive practice. New findings concerning the acquisition of communication skills in the mother tongue emphasize the importance of a basic command of oral-aural competency before a student begins to read. Furthermore, when the student begins his reading experience, the content should reflect his life experiences and should be presented in the language he has mastered orally. These findings extend into the area of second language acquisition, and indicate to curriculum planners that listening and speaking skills must be developed in the second language before the student begins to read in the second language. It is hoped that school districts with a number of students in a language category whose dominant language is not English will plan and develop instructional programs that take into account the unique social, emotional and educational needs of young people who find themselves in a new environment. In order to meet these needs emphasis should be placed upon aiding the student to adjust to his new community, to

cope with the school environment and to acquire the knowledge and develop the skills necessary to reach his career goals and his potential for self-fulfillment.

Regardless of the establishment of these instructional programs, all school personnel, from teachers to administrators, must reflect an appreciation of the individual worth of each student. Recognition of the strengths that the student brings with him and recognition of the student's linguistic competency in his mother tongue are a part of the larger understanding and appreciation of the cultural heritage of the student and his family that school personnel must display if the needs of the student are to be met on any level.

One of the very important results of the bilingual education program is the new involvement of the Puerto Rican parent in the schools. Historically, the attitude of the Puerto Rican parent has been that the teachers and the principals know what is best for their children. They are not accustomed to being asked to make decisions about what should happen to their children in school. Also, on the mainland, since no one in the school could communicate with the Spanish-speaking parent, he felt it useless to go to the school.

Now, with bilingual staff in the schools, parents are serving on advisory committees and are actively engaged in policy-making decisions for the schools. Hopefully, as learning in more than one language becomes an integral part of American education, the cultural and linguistic diversity of our nation will come into its own.

The Puerto Ricans: A Resource Unit For Teachers

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Describes the ethnic composition of Spanish Harlem and the overwhelming problems faced by its inhabitants in their fight against poverty. Includes sympathetic personal descriptions of individuals.

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An essay explaining and advocating the independence movement in Puerto Rico. Political and revolutionary in tone, passionately anti-colonial, it evokes serious thought nevertheless.

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The personal account of the new deal governor of Puerto Rico during the war years. Now dated, it remains interesting as a reminder of the struggle to achieve greater self-government and economic progress for Puerto Rico.

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This book offers a study of the geographical, cultural, social and economic features of Puerto Rico. It recounts, as well, the history of the island from its discovery until the present day, with emphasis on the influences of Spanish and American domination and the movements for self government and independence.

The Puerto Ricans: A Resource Unit For Teachers

Audio Visual Material

ISLAND IN AMERICA. 28 min., color: Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith, 315 Lexington Avenue, New York, New York 10016. Rental $17.50, Purchase $250.00.

This film compares conditions faced by Puerto Rican migrants today with those encountered by earlier immigrant groups, pointing out both similarities and differences. It features talks by two prominent Puerto Ricans, Joseph Monserrat, President of the New York City Board of Education, and Congressman Herman Badillo. Problems of Puerto Rican identification and adaptation to the mainland and culture are also presented.

MIGUEL: UP FROM PUERTO RICO. 15 min., color: Learning Corporation of America, 711 5th Avenue, New York, NY 10022. Rental $15.00 for three (3) days, Purchase $195.00.

Story of a resourceful little boy who wants to buy a fish dinner for his father's birthday with a dollar given him by his mother. After losing the money Miguel has a series of adventures before achieving his aim.

PUERTO RICO AND THE VIRGIN ISLANDS. 11 min., black and white: Coronet Films, 65 East South Water Street, Chicago, Illinois 60601.

A geographic, historical and cultural survey of these United States territories in the Caribbean.

PUERTO RICO: SHOWCASE OF AMERICA. 18 min., black and white: McGraw-Hill Book Company, Text Film Division, 330 West 42nd Street, New York, NY 10036.

Portrays the growth of Puerto Rico's economy against the background of the island's geography, history, culture, and traditions.

PUERTO RICO: THE CARIBBEAN AMERICANS. 22 min., color: International Film Bureau, Inc., 332 South Michigan Avenue, Chicago, Illinois 60604.

Presents the main historical facts about the island. Describes one Puerto Rican who has gone to New York for a better life and returns to Puerto Rico.

VISIT TO PUERTO RICO. 17 min., color: International Film Bureau, Inc., 332 South Michigan Avenue, Chicago, Illinois 60604.

Shows Puerto Rico's location, population, social heritage, geography, typography, chief crops, and farming methods. Both the Spanish tradition and the recent modern conditions are portrayed.

Film Strips

JOSE, PUERTO RICAN BOY. Hubbard Scientific Company, P.O. Box 105, North Brook, Illinois 60062.

Color filmstrip with a record. Part of the set showing activities and problems of inner city children from varying backgrounds. It shows family relationships, school experience, and ethnic customs.

MINORITIES HAVE MADE AMERICA GREAT, PART II OF THE PUERTO RICANS. Warren Schloat Productions, Pleasantville, New York 10570, (with attached record and teachers' guide) color: $22.50 with record.

This filmstrip consists of two (2) parts. Part one (1) describes some of the problems Puerto Ricans face in adjusting to life on the mainland. These problems are compared with those of earlier immigrant groups. The impact of some of these problems upon Puerto Rican youngsters is shown. Part 2 shows how organized attempts are being made to cope with these problems. The work and influence of Aspira, Headstart and other programs are described.

THE PUERTO RICANS. color: Motivation Films, 420 East 51st Street, New York, NY 10022. $28.00.

Tells how the Puerto Rican brings his culture to the big cities on the mainland.

PUERTO RICO: HISTORY AND CULTURE. Color: Urban Media Materials, Inc., 212 Mineola Ave., Roslyn Heights, New York 11577.

Two sound filmstrips survey history from the 15th century to the present time giving examples of the wide variety of cultural and artistic talent which has provided Puerto Rico with its rich cultural tradition.

Records

FOLK SONGS AND DANCES FROM PUERTO RICO. Folkways, Scholastic Records, 906 Sylvan Ave., Englewood Cliffs, NJ 07632.

Dr. Willian S. Marlens taped these songs and dances in Puerto Rican streets, hills and homes.

LATIN AMERICAN CHILDREN'S GAME SONGS. Asch Records (Folkways), 906 Sylvan Ave., Englewood Cliffs, NJ 07632.

Children singing in the town of Loiza Aldea. Includes Arroz con Leche and San Serení.

PEREZ AND MARTINA. Traditional Folktale. Listening Library, 1 Park Avenue, Old Greenwich, Conn. 06870.

Story told by New York librarian storyteller in English and Spanish.

Resources

DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATION IN PUERTO RICO
Hato Rey, Puerto Rico

OFFICE OF THE COMMONWEALTH OF PUERTO RICO
322 West 45th St.
New York, N. Y. 10036

OFFICE OF THE COMMONWEALTH OF PUERTO RICO IN CAMDEN
333 Arch Street
Camden, New Jersey 08102

COUNCIL OF SPANISH-SPEAKING ORGANIZATIONS
2023 N. Front Street
Philadelphia, Pa. 19122

OFFICE OF TURISMO IN NEW YORK
666 Fifth Avenue
New York, N.Y. 10019

OFFICE OF FOMENTO IN NEW YORK
666 Fifth Avenue
New York, N.Y. 10019

THE PUERTO RICAN RESEARCH AND RESOURCES CENTER
1519 Connecticut Avenue, N.W.
Washington, D. C. 20036

CHILDREN'S MUSIC CENTER, INC.
5373 W. Pico Boulevard
Los Angeles, Calif. 90019

SPANISH BOOK CORPORATION OF AMERICA
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New York, N. Y. 10026

EL MUSEO
Community School District Four
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